

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 AID-05 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-07

FRB-03 INR-07 NSAE-00 RSC-01 TRSE-00 XMB-02 OPIC-03

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 936

INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 KINSHASA 0518

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CG PGOV EGON

SUBJ: MOBUTU'S "REVOLUTION WITHIN THE REVOLUTION"

REF: KINSHASA A-02 1/2/75; KINSHASA 137; KINSHASA A-07 1/16/75

SUMMARY: BY BORROWING LIBERALLY FROM LESSONS HE BELIEVES HE  
LEARNED DURING VISIT TO NORTH KOREA AND CHINA LAST MONTH,  
PRES MOBUTU IS TRYING A NEW APPROACH TO ACHIEVE GOALS HE ESTABLISHED  
FOR ZAIRE IN 1967. ZAIRIAN REACTIONS HAVE BEEN AS MIXED AS NEW  
PROGRAM IS SWEEPING. MOBUTU HAS DONE AWAY WITH SOME OF HYPOCRICY  
THAT SURROUNDED LAST YEAR'S ZAIRIANIZATION OF FOREIGN OWNED BUSIN-  
ESSES, TO SATISFACTION OF THOSE WHO DID NOT BENEFIT, BUT HE HAS  
CREATED NEW TENSIONS THAT WILL BEAR CLOSE WATCHING. END SUMMARY.

1. WHAT IS THIS NEW REVOLUTION? MOBUTU HAS EXPLAINED HIS NEW  
APPROACH IN TERMS OF SEEKING TO ACHIEVE BY DIFFERENT MEANS THE  
GOALS HE LAID DOWN FOR ZAIRE IN THE MPR "N'SELE MANIFESTO"  
OF 1967, A BASIC PARTY DOCUMENT. AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY ARE TO  
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FLOURISH,WASTE IS TO BE AVOIDED, SCHOOLS ARE TO BE ADAPTED TO

ZAIRE'S NEEDS. THE ARMY IS TO CONTRIBUTE TO DEVELOPMENT TO THESE GOALS MOBUTU HAS ADDED DRIVE TOWARD AUTARKY, RELIANCE ON OWN RESOURCES. SOME OF NEW MEASURES HAVE TOTALITARIAN FLAVOR. THE HUMAN FREEDOMS THAT N'SELE MANIFESTO PROMISED TO RESPECT HAS NOW BEEN ADDED FREEDOM TO ACCEPT PARTY DISCIPLINE AND GIVE UNCONDITIONAL OBEDIENCE TO MOBUTU. BECAUSE WESTERN SYSTEM BASED ON SUPPLY

AND DEMAND HAS NOT SERVED ZAIRES WELL, STATE WILL CONTROL ESSENTIAL MEANS OF PRODUCTION, DISTRIBUTION, TRANSPORTATION AND PRICES. IT WILL ALSO DIRECTLY CONTROL PRIVATE EDUCATION (DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS) IN ORDER TO MAKE ALL SCHOOLS INDOCTRINATION CENTERS FOR ZAIRIAN YOUTH FROM NURSERY SCHOOL ON. THE ARMY ASSUMES HEAVY NEW RESPONSIBILITIES FOR PRODUCTION AND INDOCTRINATION. FORMER ZAIRIAN OWNERS OF NEWLY NATIONALIZED BUSINESSES ARE TO TAKE GOVT JOBS AND OTHER DISPOSSESSED MPR FIGURES ARE ENCOURAGED TO MOVE INTO AGRICULTURE. ALL UNEMPLOYED WILL BE MOBILIZED AND PUT TO WORK SO THAT PRODUCTION CAN RISE AND ROAD AND BUILDING CONSTRUCTION PROCEED WITHOUT REFERENCE TO "SO-CALLED EFFECTIVE DEMAND." MOBUTU WILL DRAW ON ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE OF NORTH KOREA AND CHINA AS NECESSARY. IN THIS BREATHTAKING SCHEME OF THINGS THERE ARE TO BE SOME EXCEPTIONS. MOBUTU EMPHASIZED THAT HE HAS NOT ABOLISHED PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THAT SMALL AND MEDIUM SIZE BUSINESSES MAY OPERATE. MOREOVER, FOREIGN INVESTMENT FALLING UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF 1969 INVESTMENT CODE IS NOT TO BE AFFECTED BY THE NEW MEASURES.

2. WHY A NEW REVOLUTION? IT APPEARS LIKELY THAT WHEN MOBUTU DEPARTED FOR CHINA AND NORTH KOREA LAST MONTH HE WAS RIPE FOR A CHANGE OF POLICY. POSSIBLY CONTRIBUTING TO HIS STATE OF MIND WERE NUMBER OF FACTORS THAT TAKEN TOGETHER LED HIM TO CONCLUSION THAT ZAIRES FIRST "REVOLUTION" WAS A FAILURE. THESE INCLUDED SERIOUS BUDGETARY PROBLEMS; MOUNTING FOREIGN DEBT WITH CONCOMITANT DIFFICULTY IN FURTHER BORROWING ABROAD; BOLD CRITICISM OF REGIME'S SHORTCOMINGS EXPRESSED AT FIRST SESSION OF PARTY SCHOOL LAST SUMMER; SHARP HOME TRUTHS ABOUT ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN KINSHASA REPORTEDLY THROWN AT HIM BY SOME OF ZAIRIAN WOMEN HE ASSEMBLED LAST NOVEMBER AND CHIDED FOR RESORTING TO PROSTITUTION; AND WIDE PUBLIC RESSENTMENT OVER BLATANT FAVORITISM SHOWN TO PARTY BIGWIGS IN DIVISION OF ZAIRIANIZATION SPOILS. UPON HIS RETURN FROM FAR EASTERN TRIP MOBUTU SAID HE REPEATEDLY TOLD HIS POLITICAL BUREAU COLLEAGUES

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THAT ZAIRES REVOLUTION MUST BE TRANSFORMED FROM FAILURE TO SUCCESS. HENCE THE DRACONIAN NEW DECISIONS. THERE IS PROBABLY ADDITIONAL FACTOR IN ALL THIS. MOBUTU LIKES QUICK AND SIMPLE "SOLUTIONS." IN PAST FEW YEARS HE HAS PROMULGATED VARIOUS POLICE-TYPE MEASURES AIMED AT HALTING RURAL EXODUS, INCREASING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION, OR PUTTING UNEMPLOYED YOUTH TO WORK, ALL OF WHICH FAILED. ORDERS FROM TOP PROVED INAPPLICABLE IN FIELD, FOR VARIETY OF REASONS. LAST YEAR'S ZAIRIANIZATION PROGRAM ITSELF WAS SUCH

"SOLUTION." AS MOBUTU EXPLAINED IT AT END OF 1973, ZAIRIAN ELITE, WOULD TAKE OVER FOREIGN-OWNED BUSINESSES AND PROCEED TO SHARE THEIR NEW PROSPERITY WITH DOWNWARD SPREADING CIRCLE OF FELLOW COUNTRYMEN. ONLY IT DID NOT WORK THAT WAY.

3. POLITICAL BOOTSTRAP OPERATION. PASSAGES IN MOBUTU'S JAN 4 SPEECHES AND PUBLISHED REPORTS BY JOURNALISTS WHO ACCOMPANIED HIM TO FAR EAST SUGGEST THAT MOBUTU CAME AWAY CONVINCED THAT A PEOPLE THAT HAS EYES ONLY FOR ITS LEADER CAN OVERCOME ANY OBSTACLE. SINCE HIS RETURN, AN "ERA OF ANONUMITY" HAS BEGUN. NAMES OF EDITORS, AND WRITERS HAVE DROPPED OUT OF NEWSPAPERS; GOVT OFFICIALS ARE REFERRED TO ONLY BY TITLE IN THE MEDIA; AND MOBUTU'S NAME IS OFTEN THE ONLY ZAIRIAN ONE HEARD DURING A NEWS BROADCAST. POLITICAL INDOCTRINATION FROM NURSERY SCHOOL TO ADULTHOOD IS MORE THAN EVER TO BE ORDER OF THE DAY.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 KINSHASA 0518/2

IN MOBUTU'S VIEW THIS IS TO PRODUCE DISCIPLINED SOCIETY IN TRUE AFRICAN TRADITION, UNLIKE ANYTHING IN WEST, SOCIETY IN WHICH COMMUNAL EFFORT WILL BE MORE IMPORTANT THAN MONEY.

4. MIXED REACTIONS. BARRAGE OF NOMINATIONS AND DECISIONS THAT FOLLOWED JAN 4 SPEECHES HAVE NOT DISPELLED EARLY CONFUSION BUT SOME REACTIONS ALREADY DISCERNIBLE. THERE HAS BEEN APPROVAL AMONG COMMON PEOPLE OF DECISION TO MAKE BENEFICIARIES OF ZAIRIANIZATION DISGORGE, TO FORCE REPATRIATION OF FOREIGN-HELD ASSETS, TO PROVIDE FREE UNIFORMS FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN STARTING NEXT FALL, AND TO PROVIDE EDUCATION FOR ALL BY 1980. NATIONAL LABOR UNION IS MAKING OPTIMISTIC NOISES ABOUT TAKING CHARGE OF RURAL MASSES AND FORMING THEM INTO COOPERATIVES AND WORK BRIGADES. PARTY YOUTH LEADERS, FEELING THEIR OATS, RECENTLY STAGED SUPPORTING MARCH IN KINSHASA TO WHICH THEY FIRMLY INVITED EMPLOYERS TO CONTRIBUTE BY GIVING EACH PARTICIPATING EMPLOYEE 2 ZAIRES (4 DOLLARS) TO DEFRAY "TRANSPORT COSTS." PARTY OFFICIALS HAVE NOT ALWAYS KEPT THEIR HEADS. FOR EXAMPLE, KINSHASA REGIONAL COMMISSIONER, IN EXCESS OF REVOLUTIONARY ZEAL, HAS ORDERED ENTIRE CITY HALL STAFF TO ENGAGE

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IN STREET CLEANING "SALONGO" FOR THREE WEEKS, THUS HALTING CITY BUSINESS. MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE BLANDLY CONFIDED TO EMBOFF JAN 13 THAT WHILE HE DID NOT YET HAVE FUNDS TO ORGANIZE RURAL WORK BRIGADES, HE ENVISAGED USING LOCAL AND PARTY OFFICIALS TO IMPLANT NATIONWIDE SYSTEM OF FORCED CULTIVATION AND STATE PURCHASE OF CROPS AT FIXED PRICES. UNHAPPINESS IS OBVIOUS AMONG MEMBERS OF ELITE WHOSE PROPERTY AND CHILDREN'S EDUCATION JEOPARDIZED BY NEW DECISIONS. PARTICULARLY UNPOPULAR IS DECISION TO PUT SECONDARY SCHOOL GRADUATES UNDER ARMY SUPERVISION FOR YEAR OF TRAINING AND INDOCTRINATION AND TO ALLOW UNIT CHIEFS TO RECOMMEND FOR OR AGAINST UNIVERSITY ADMISSION ON BASIS OF PARTY CRITERIA. IT IS PROBABLY FAIR TO SAY THAT THE REVOLUTION WITHIN THE REVOLUTION HAS SO FAR PRODUCED NO WIDESPREAD UPSURGE OF REJOICING, THAT IT HAS OFFENDED MANY, AND THAT MORE ARE WORRIED, PARTICULARLY ABOUT CONSEQUENCES OF BRINGING WHAT THEY VIEW AS TOTALLY ALIEN, WAYS TO ZAIRE.

5. WHAT LIES AHEAD? MOBUTU'S POLITICAL PROBLEMS APPEAR MORE FORMIDABLE THAN BEFORE. SO FAR HE HAS PROBABLY NOT LOST MUCH SUPPORT IN THE ARMY AND PARTY LEADERSHIP, WHOSE WELFARE HE HAS SO CAREFULLY LOOKED AFTER UNTIL NOW. BUT HE HAS SHAKEN THEM, AND HE HAS THRUST ENORMOUS RESPONSIBILITIES UPON THEM INCLUDING THAT OF INSTITUTING OR PERHAPS IMPOSING CHINESE TYPE DISCIPLINES ON AN UNCOMPREHENDING AND PROBABLY UNCOOPERATIVE PEOPLE. IN THE PAST WHEN MOBUTU ANNOUNCED BOLD MEASURES HE ALWAYS LEFT A WAY OUT FOR HIMSELF IF THINGS GOT TOO DIFFICULT. THIS TIME HE HAS ENGAGED IN PRETTY IRREVERSIBLE RHETORIC. HE HAS PROMISED THE MOON (FULL EMPLOYMENT, UNIVERSAL EDUCATION, AGRICULTURAL SELF-SUFFICIENCY) VIRTUALLY TOMORROW. AS THE INEVITABLE DIFFICULTIES ARISE, DUE TO LACK OF FUNDS, PLANNING AND TRAINED PEOPLE, DISENCHANTMENT SEEMS SURE TO GROW. RIGHT NOW MOBUTU CLEARLY SEES IT DIFFERENTLY. HE BELIEVES THAT HIS PEOPLE'S TRUST IN HIM CAN BE STEADILY STRENGTHENED THROUGH DISCIPLINE AND INDOCTRINATION AND THAT THEREBY

ZAIRE WILL OVERCOME. THESE WILL BE INTERESTING TIMES.

6. ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS FOR US. AS HE DID DURING LAST YEAR'S ZAIRIANIZATION PROGRAM, MOBUTU HAS PUT A CORDON AROUND THE FOREIGN INVESTMENT SECTOR COVERED BY THE INVESTMENT CODE. THE NEW MEASURES ARE NOT TO APPLY TO THEM. WE WILL BE WATCHING FOR THE EVIDENCE WHERE US INVESTMENTS ARE CONCERNED. FUTURE US INVESTMENTS WILL NECESSARILY DEPEND TO CONSIDERABLE EXTENT ON  
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WHAT HAPPENS NEXT. FIRST INDICATIONS HAVE BEEN THAT MOBUTU CONTINUES TO WANT FOREIGN INVESTMENT, BUT HIS LOOSE WAYS WITH PROPERTY ARE HARD TO OVERLOOK.  
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